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Toda AW50

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 111, 117, and 118-122, Category 648, pp. 111-116, and 118-119, and Category 439, pp. 116-118 and 121-122.]

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Kurumba AW56

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 123-126, Category 648, pp. 122-124, and Category 439, pp. 124 and 126.]

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Kota AW5!

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 99-105 and 107-110 and Category 178, pp. 105 and 106.]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas."

Every Badaga family has its Muttu Kota, from whom it gets the agricultural implements, pots, hoes, etc. In return, the Kotas receive an annual present of food-grains, mustard and potatoes. For a Kota funeral, the Badagas have to give five rupees or a quantity of rice, and a buffalo. The pots obtained from the Kotas are not used immediately, but kept for three days in the jungle, or in a bush in some open spot. They are then taken to the outer apartment of the house, and kept there for three days, when they are smeared with the bark of *Meliosma pungens* (the tūd tree of the Todas) and culms of *Andropogon Schænanthus* (bzambe hullu). Thus purified, the pots are used for boiling water in for three days, and may then be used for any purpose. The Badagas are said to give a present of grain annually to the Todas. Every Toda mand (or mad) seems to have its own group of Badaga families, who pay them this gudu, as it is called. "There are," Dr. Rivers writes, "several regulations concerning the food of the palol (dairy-man of a Toda sacred dairy). Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the palol must be obtained through them. The palol wears garments of a dark grey material made in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the palol by the Badaga called tikelfmav. The earthenware vessels of the inner room (of the ti dairy) are not obtained from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas."

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

essentially a relationship of mutual obligation which binds a specific Badaga family to a specific Kota one and are inherited on either side through the males. A Badaga can never change to a new Kota partner unless the old one agrees to it at a joint meeting of their village councils, which rarely happens. The Kota produces certain types of artifact for a Badaga, who in return gives him grain and cloth. Because of the great disparity in numbers between the Badagas and Kotas,[2] it is necessary for each Kota family to maintain such ties with perhaps fifty to 100 Badaga households. In each case, whether or not the services required are those of a woman and whether or not the initial request comes from a woman, all mediation between the two associated families is through the male heads of each.

There are in the entire Nilgiris only seven Kota villages; but these are widely and evenly dispersed, being on the average fourteen kilometers apart (and further by road). One village at Gudalu:ru is in the Wainad, on the slope west of the Nilgiri Plateau; the larger two of the indigenous political divisions each contain two villages; and the remaining two divisions of the plateau have one village each. This distribution, whether originally so planned or not,[3] results in the Kotas being conveniently accessible to all Badaga and Toda settlements; for there is not a settlement anywhere on the plateau that would be more than a morning's walk from a Kota village. Normally each Badaga village is linked with whichever Kota village happens to be closest.

The usual pattern for activating the exchange relationship is for the Badaga to request his Kota partner's *services* whenever the need arises but to order his *products* once each year; while the Kota in turn comes for a dole of clothes and foodstuffs once a year (Harkness, 1832, 78–79; Ranga, 1934, 72). There exists a general understanding that the Kota man should inquire annually of each Badaga partner what items will be required for the coming months. The Badaga then gives him a list of items, while the Badaga's wife passes on to him another list of things required from the Kota's wife. The Kota then announces that he will be returning on a specific day (generally a Monday, the weekly holiday) just before the major Kota festival of Kambattaraya (early January), and the Badaga knows that he must have gifts ready for the Kota on this occasion. On that day the Kota usually comes with his wife and children, bringing the ordered goods if they are ready. The

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Kotas then are considered guests of the partner's family, though their lower status keeps them from entering the Badaga house. The Kotas are fed on the veranda, and formerly the visiting family would simultaneously eat out of a single cloth. In recent decades that has come to be regarded as a disrespectful method of being served food; and so it is now given rather more acceptably on one large plantain leaf instead.

The traditional remuneration for Kota goods and services was not in cash, which was rare in the Nilgiri economy until the mid-nineteenth century, but in food grains, potatoes and mustard (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 85). Today, however, Badagas prefer to pay cash for specific items they require; and some even buy goods at fixed prices from their Kota partner's stall in the market at Ootacamund, Coonoor or Kotagiri. The traditional Kota dress was a skirt-like cloth wrapped around the lower half of the body and a cloak: both were annual gifts from the Badaga partner, who had in turn acquired them from his Chetti trading partner (see below). Quantities of the two chief grains, little millet and finger millet,[4] could also be given. Whether the Badaga gave grain or cloth, or both, was a matter of personal preference. The actual volume of grain given was seemingly not fixed: it varied with the Badaga's harvest each year, according to Badagas, but according to Kotas should have been a quarter of the yield.[5] The Kota would arrange to supply a quantity of articles proportionate in value to the gifts he had received; and it is said that he was capable of remembering what each of his fifty or more Badaga partners had given him on his last visit. '...if a Kota family felt that the Badaga families for whom they provided tools and music were not giving them a rightful share of the crop at harvest, a Kota council could be called which might decree that those Badagas were to be boycotted until they paid up properly' (Mandelbaum, 1960, 275).

Instances have sometimes arisen of a Kota partner dying and leaving a wife but no son; or a wife dies and her widower has no woman in the house. Then a Badaga may want some article from the remnant of his Kota partner's family while there is actually no appropriate person left to make it. If he wants a man's product the widower can make it, and if a woman's product the widow can still make it, of course; but otherwise the surviving Kota is obliged to maintain the relationship by arranging for some kinsman to produce whatever the Badaga needs.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 •439 The Kota friend was traditionally the only source for a Badaga's metal goods. The items which Kotas have regularly manufactured in their smithies, first from local iron ore and later from imported scrap metal, were various kinds of knives (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), adzes, crowbars, pickaxes, sickles, hoes, axes, hammers, iron cooking basins, skillets and ploughshares; and formerly they also produced stirrups, horse-bits, bows and iron-tipped arrows. Kotas were once gold- and silversmiths to the Badagas, too, and still occasionally supply them with metal ornaments. In addition to manufacturing this variety of articles, Kota partners were expected to repair them when necessary. Now they are normally given cash for any repair work done.

A second category of products over which the Kotas formerly held the monopoly is that of leather. Although not even members of the highest Badaga phratries object to handling leather goods, only the Kotas have applied themselves to the polluting task of converting buffalo hides into leather articles. The goods they have regularly prepared are horse saddles and bridles, leather ropes for ploughs and tethers (Metz, 1864, 131-132; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7), leather nets used in trapping, and possibly sandals and water bags. It is worth remarking that while Badagas do not find it polluting to handle the leather on drums, they do consider it demeaning to play Kota drums; hence such instruments have never been sought from the Kotas.

Pottery is a further item over which the Kotas held the local monopoly until this century. Archaeological evidence which I collected indicates that several centuries ago the two hamlets of the Kumba:ras, a tiny Badaga phratry located on the northern edge of the plateau, were producing many kinds of wheel-made pottery. But since that time pot production has been entirely in the hands of Kota women who, it is said, had initially learnt this art from some Kumba:ras. Items which they have regularly supplied to the Badagas include household and dairy vessels, oil lamps and clay smoking-pipes. Unlike any other Kota manufactures their new pots are put through quite an elaborate purificatory ritual by Badagas before coming into daily use.[6]

C230 The Kota partner was also a maker of leaf-umbrellas and of a wooden device not unlike a nutcracker which Badagas use for castrating their young bulls. A curious item with which Kotas must

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

supply their Badaga partners when they find it is the bezoar, a hairy ball that accumulates in the paunch of some buffaloes. Eating a little of this is believed to make a baby strong, brave and manly; and so all Badagas—whether vegetarian or not, and even though quite cognizant of its polluting origin—feed some of it to their newborn sons.

Some Kotas are adept carpenters. In the days when Badagas were still using ploughs they obtained these from their Kota partners, who had made them from some wood supplied by the Toda partners of the Badagas. Kota men sometimes made the heavy wooden pounding-stick found in all Badaga households: in this case the wood was first obtained from the jungle slopes by the Kurumbas of one particular settlement, who passed it on to the Toda who had asked them for it. This Toda would then give the timber to the Toda partner of the Badaga needing the pounder. He in turn passed it on to the Badaga's Kota partner to whittle into a pounder. This is the most complex traditional network we know of in the Nilgiris.

Kota partners were also employed to help build houses or cattlesheds for their Badaga partners. In this case, too, if the Badaga's Toda partner were a relatively affluent man he would supply timber for the purpose. If the Kota were an affluent man he might give food to his own helpers who carried the timber from the Toda source. Similarly, the Badaga partner might get the timber that was needed for a Kota's house. There was in fact considerable flexibility in these intertribal connexions.

When a Badaga house is being built the Kota partner has to place a piece of iron in the foundations to drive away bad spirits: ghosts and demons abhor iron (as elsewhere across the Old World). A comparable ritual at the completion of a new Badaga cattleshed requires that the owner's Kota partner bring a crowbar and lay it across the threshold over which the first cow[7] to enter must step.

The Badagas very literally hold a house-warming ceremony in a newly built house, when the hearth is first built. The Kota partner of the owner must also attend this, bringing a new pot with him. This is essential, for grain has to be boiled in it during the ritual. Another Kota will also be less directly involved in this ceremony, as the mother's brother of the house owner also has to bring another pot for the same purpose from *his* Kota partner.

Until this century Kota men were usually requested to thatch Badaga houses. This service has, however, been discontinued: in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 342 1900 or a little before, thatch was replaced by tiled rooves which were considered more convenient, safe and prestigeful; and the Kotas do not generally lay tiles.

For at least the past century Badagas and Kotas have been building their houses of locally made bricks. Kota bricklayers have built Badaga houses, and Badaga bricklayers have also built Kota houses. In either case the traditional ties are not necessarily involved, if only because so very few Badagas or Kotas can lay bricks properly. In these situations payment is generally made in cash according to recognized rates for the labour performed.

Badaga Products

177 439 Apart from the annual grant of grain and cloth to Kotas, their Badaga partners used to give them whatever cattle died. 'All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the Kotas, and feasted on by them . . . and at no time do the Kotas thrive so well as when there is a murrain among the herds of the Todas and Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 128).

Although Badagas and Todas used to exchange cattle on occasion, no such trade ever took place between Kotas and Badagas; indeed until the mid-nineteenth century the other communities would not allow Kotas to own any buffaloes, and after they did have some they still did not milk them (Reclus, 1891: 192; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7). The Kotas would eat every Badaga or Toda buffalo that died, however, or would kill and eat an aging beast (normally a bull) given them for the purpose; but it is noteworthy that once they started keeping herds they would never eat any of their own buffalo carcasses.[8]

(249) (477) Another item for which the Kotas looked to the Badagas in the last century was opium. Good quality opium was produced on the Nilgiris at that time, but the Badagas seem to have held a monopoly on it. Today anyone can buy poppy capsules illicitly in the town markets (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 9).

Irregular Services

178 291 There are certain services which Kotas are called upon to render only when some unusual situation arises. Thus Kotas do not normally help their Badaga partners to harvest the crops; but if a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

NOTES

1. Adapted from Zvelebil, 1955, 243–244. (For 'Kurubas' read 'Kurumbas'.) In fact a number of other tribes are interconnected socially and economically with these four, and an adequate account would embrace nearly a dozen communities.
2. Roughly one Kota to every ninety Badagas (1961); see Appendix 1 and 2.
3. 'The Todas claim that the Kotas are . . . artisans specially brought up from the plains to work for them'; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7. For the location of Kota villages, see Map 2 above.
4. Respectively *Panicum miliare* and *Eleusine coracana*.
5. Emeneau, 1946, 257. Harkness (1832, 109, 135) noted: 'Each Burgher [Badaga] community now pays . . . at the rate of eighty measures [probably 65 litres] for each plough of land'. But at Kotagiri the Kotas got 182 litres from a village. Later Breeks, 1873, 42, recorded that the Kota got from each village from 37 to 74 litres of each kind of grain grown.
6. Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 85. The Wodeas alone do not cook in earthenware.
7. Nowadays any small piece of iron is used; the cow is always a gift of the Badaga's wife's father.
8. If a Toda or Badaga animal strayed into a Kota herd for one or more nights it would be returned to the owner, but the Kotas would make a point of never eating that particular animal. On nineteenth century practices, see 'Rifle', 1872, 32.
9. Emeneau, 1946, 261; Mandelbaum, 1955, 241. Each Kota village constitutes a commune, separate from the contiguous Badaga communes but answereble to the *parpati*, the Badaga head of that division *(na:ḍu)* of the plateau.
10. The music and dance are performed on the *keri*, the work-space in front of each house.
11. More practicable tools are used for the real work.
12. Today the Kota simply borrows an old hoe in the Badaga village and then covers it with mud as a gesture 'to make it into a new hoe'.
13. Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 15. The last time these rituals were performed was in 1936, when each household in Taṅga:ḍu had to contribute a minimum of thirty rupees; see Plates 13–14.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

farm-land. In the Toda view *gudu* was never compulsory but was an annual gift the Badagas used to make in return for help rendered by Todas and for old hamlet sites the Todas had once presented to certain Badaga immigrants.

Since 1900 the grain given has not been enough to feed the Todas, so that they have also bought grain and rice at the bazaar (Breeks, 1873, 13; Rivers, 1906, 632–633). Some modern informants say the Toda associated with a Badaga village could expect roughly four litres of inferior-quality grain from each household there, but this would vary with the donor's generosity. The system of *gudu* is still operating in some villages today, mostly those closer to the grazing lands of Todana:du. Few Todas now consider it worth the trouble or the indignity of going to each house and trying to get their annual due, while few Badagas see it as a duty rather than mere charity to give visiting Todas anything.

It is traditionally in September that Todas go to collect the grain—either little or finger millet, or nowadays local potatoes or paddy rice imported from the plains. They decide among themselves how to divide up the task of collection, and then one man goes to each village and visits every house. Where practicable he will be the traditional partner of those particular Badagas (Emeneau 1938, 103). Until the early twentieth century it was unnecessary for him to call at each house because the Badaga headman himself would collect the grain from the donors beforehand.

There are other items which Todas regularly expected from their Badaga partners as well. Before the Ootacamund bazaar came into being much of their cloth came from Badagas.[8] This and the materials for embroidery were initially supplied by a Badaga's Chetti partner, or else bought directly from an itinerant Chetti (see below, pp. 143–145). In the days before the cash economy Todas could obtain from their Badaga partners salt and crude sugar, both of which were bought in the plains during the annual trading expedition there.[9] An item which Todas, like Kotas, very rarely got from Badagas was opium; today some buy poppy capsules in the market but have long ceased getting them from Badagas.

Toda Services and Products

In turn, certain necessities of Badaga life regularly came from the Todas. Of prime importance was dairy produce, mainly clarified

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

439 butter but also milk and buttermilk.

A few types of basket, among them the winnows, were traditionally supplied to Badagas by Kurumbas; but the majority, including the huge grain-storage baskets, were made for the Badagas by their Toda partners, out of various types of split creeper. Certain baskets on the other hand were obtained from Kurumbas by Todas who would then weave strong edges to these before passing them on to their Badaga partners (Rivers, 1906, 630-631; Emeneau, 1938, 103).

Prior to this century, before thatched roofing fell into disfavour among Badagas, it was the Toda partner and his friends who brought the bundles of reeds needed for thatching. Until recently Todas also brought split creeper and wood needed for building the heavy wooden beds of the Badagas. Other wooden and cane items are supplied when asked for: the milk-churning stick made of cane, timber for ploughs and buildings, threshing sticks and walking-sticks with incised decorations. The flute is sometimes made by an Irula who trades it to a Toda or sometimes the Toda makes it himself to give to his Badaga partner. Until the beginning of this century Todas also made and supplied umbrellas woven of leaves. Cylindrical vessels used for milk and necessary in certain Badaga rituals, and in former days grain measures, are articles made by Todas out of wide sections of bamboo. Not only are the Badaga partners provided with such things, but sometimes a Toda will also bring a gift of fresh bamboo shoots, which are considered a great delicacy and will always draw a return gift of grain.

Cloth was formerly supplied to Todas through the Badagas, but there are two circumstances in which Todas still give Badagas an embroidered cloak. The rarer of these is when a Badaga headman needs one; for the distinctive Toda cloak was in the past virtually a symbol of office for Badaga and Kota headmen and would also be worn by other elders as a mark of respectability. It is also a custom for Badaga corpses to be covered with an embroidered cloak, obtained from his Toda partner by the husband of the daughter of the deceased. The embroidery is done by a wife or mother of the Toda (in a very shoddy manner if intended for a Badaga funeral). A coarse kind of cloth used once to be woven from the fibres of five species of local nettle, these having been supplied by Todas. Even today a bundle of these fibres (called *muñji*) is given to a female corpse during a Badaga funeral and comes from the Toda associate.

2: Rockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Irregular Transactions

As a general rule Badagas, Kotas and Todas shift their cattle to new grazing independently of each other, at the beginning of each year. At present Kota and Badaga cattle are so few that it is rarely necessary to move them at all; but the Todas still practise transhumance within the limits of the plateau, occasionally with Badaga cattle mixed among their own. It was previously common for Badagas to participate in the annual migration of the Toda buffaloes; and sometimes they entrusted their buffaloes to the Toda partners, to take them to better summer grazing on the southern edge of the plateau (Ward, 1821, lxxiii; Rivers, 1906, 133, 137; Ranga, 1934, 24). There the Todas would mix their own herds with the Badaga buffaloes and enjoy the use of their milk, until they were returned home at the approach of the June monsoon.

Badagas and Todas sometimes exchange buffaloes in order to get others of more useful age or yield.[10] This barter only involves female animals and is typically the exchange of one buffalo of good yield for two of lower yield. Todas may also get non-sacred buffaloes from Badaga friends when they suddenly need the animals for sacrifice at a Toda funeral or sell them to Badagas when they need cash. Any difference outstanding after such transactions was formerly paid on the Badaga side by grain, cloth, or gold and silver ornaments; and on the Toda side by various bamboo and basketry articles. More recently the differences have been made up with money alone.

Todas sometimes ask their Badaga partners for financial loans. In the nineteenth century if the request produced no immediate result they would mortgage buffaloes to wealthy Badagas as security for a loan (Marshall, 1873, 130). Today one can still find Badagas lending money merely out of fear of the Todas' sorcery.

Sometimes when a Badaga wants to indulge in some illicit sexual activity he may ask his Toda partner to lend his own wife or find him a Toda girl; but as Toda women are generally rather free in their interaction with non-Todas it is usually no problem for the Badaga to importune a girl himself. Todas on the other hand have virtually no opportunity for intercourse with Badaga women. (Such at least is what reliable Badagas have said; the Toda men deny any such relations between the two communities.)[11]

Although it has not occurred within living memory, 'It was

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* [priest] must, however, be that supplied by the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy [temple] must also be procured through the Badagas (Rivers, 1906, 632–633).

This statement suggests that there used to be a separate category of Badaga associate for the priest of the *ti:* dairy-temple. This supposed institution was elaborated by Rivers (1906, 633; also 98, 630):

> The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus [the Chettis], from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services . . .[16]

Reliable Toda informants have assured me there was no such institution, even in the last century. It is true that for one month a year the *ti:* at Ö:nţöw is occupied by the priest, (*pol o:j*), and that even today Badagas give him grain during the ceremony of feeding salt to the Toda herds there at Ö:nţöw.

• 439 Before 1900 the Badagas received clarified butter produced from the milk of sacred buffaloes (Metz, 1864, 41; Grigg, 1880, 195; Macleane, 1893, 905). One priest told Marshall (1873, 145) that this clarified butter from the *ti:* dairy, '. . . which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money'.[17] Further, 'The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs [Nellitore] in the Coimbatore District'.[18] These were sometimes brought to the priest by a Badaga who had previously acquired them from his Chetti trading partner but can in fact be supplied by anyone. The *tüny* cloth, a fabric quite different from ordinary Toda clothing, is also used to enshroud a corpse and was obtained from Badagas for that purpose as well

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

(Rivers, 1906, 236–237). A further item once acquired through Badagas was the above-mentioned vessels used in the sacred *ti:* dairy (Rivers, 1906, 90).

An occasional Toda ritual that Badagas may still attend is the rebuilding or rethatching of a temple. A day or two beforehand some Badaga elders from nearby villages should be invited by their Toda partners. At one such event in 1963 several Badagas made offerings of silver to the Toda temple and quietly made vows before it.

Sometimes when Toda men expect to be busily occupied at some such ceremony they now hire Badaga youths to prepare the food: Toda women could not do this. It is just a matter of convenience, however, and not a traditional element in the bonds between the two communities.

Although Badagas are often invited to a funeral, 'The only part played ... is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota' (Rivers 1906, 633). This ancient bronze bell has to be tied round the neck of the sacred buffalo as a part of the ritual before it may be sacrificed. Some Badagas do help of their own volition with the Toda's pyre, and in the last century they used to carry the Toda headman *(manegar)* to the ceremony (Ling, 1892, 76).

A frequent guest at Toda council meetings of both a judiciary and a non-judiciary nature is the headman of Tu:ne:ri village, who is paramount chief of the Badagas. His advice is well regarded by the Todas, and he is expected to help mediate in Toda disputes whether or not Badagas are also involved in them (Rivers, 1906, 550, 633; Walker, 1965, 78, 188–189, 193). Formerly the headman of Ba:kola, who was a divisional headman *(parpati)* of the Badagas, would also attend those meetings.

BADAGAS AND KURUMBAS

The Control of Sorcery

Geographically the Kurumbas are much more isolated from the Badagas than are the Todas or Kotas; nevertheless certain Kurumbas have a crucial role in the Badaga community. A Badaga family does not have a specific Kurumba partner, but each commune appoints a particular Kurumba[19] to act as

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

> When I first commenced by missionary labors on the Neilgherries, and whilst I was considered by the natives as their great friend, my object having been then but imperfectly understood, I was repeatedly asked to rid them of the Kurumbas, that is, to get them hunted down like wild beasts and exterminated, and they would remember my name with gratitude for ever.

Badagas claim that until quite recently a Kurumba council would sometimes authorize Kurumba youths to go out for a few weeks and practise the sorcery they had learned. At such times the Kurumba watchman would warn all the Badagas he was supposedly protecting that this was going on, and that they should not leave their homes after dark or take needless risks; nor should they blame him for any deaths, as each youth was permitted by the tribal council to kill one man. Since Kurumbas could also kill each other it was believed that no young sorcerer would try his skill against members of a Badaga commune protected by a more powerful Kurumba, as the latter might well retaliate out of revenge against his fellow tribesman.

Exchange of Goods and Services

Despite the tension-fraught nature of the relationship, the Kurumba watchman is no mere predator on the paranoid fears of Badagas: he does engage in economic exchange with them, too. Kurumbas are expected to supply the communes with three kinds of basket: two types of winnow and a large flat basket to hold grain while drying. They also provide their Badaga communes with certain rare species of timber found on the jungle slopes, especially the hard *ka:rca* wood needed for pounders. In the past honey, tamarind, bees-wax and knotted nets regularly came from the Kurumbas, as also did some leaf umbrellas and sleeping mats made of split cane or reeds.

One duty a Kurumba may perform for Badagas under exceptional circumstances is to remedy illnesses that Badaga therapists have failed to cure. Certain Kurumbas become noted for their abilities to cure specific ailments, either by herbal medicine or by spells, and a Badaga sufferer may arrange for treatment by them through the Kurumba watchman (Thurston, 1912, 233; Hockings, 1979b). Fees or costly presents would have to be given for this favour.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 Kurumba headman should notify the Kota headman that they will be playing at a certain Badaga village; and the Badaga inviting them should first get permission from the Kota headman to do so.[22] This set of rules is no longer followed since the feelings of Kota headmen are not respected now that Badaga/Kota relations have in general been broken off.

177 Until the 1930s when the institution of commune watchman began to lose currency, the Kurumba got a quarter rupee each 621 month for every pair of oxen in the commune, or more often its equivalent in grain. [23] At harvest time he would also receive the [178] same sum or else six litres of new grain collected from the villagers by the headman's assistant. In addition he and his family would be fed whenever in the commune.[24] The Kurumba could also rely on Badagas to satisfy all of his clothing needs, for which purpose the headman would first collect grain from the villagers with which to purchase the cloth by barter from the visiting Chetti trader. An early claim (Harkness, 1832, 109, note) that the commune Kurumba could inherit a Badaga's estate when there were no traceable heirs has never been recorded since and would not be possible today.

177 When a Kurumba watchman dies the headman of the Badaga commune should collect some gifts from the villagers and take them, or have them sent, to the bereaved family. This used to be imperative to secure the goodwill of the family from which the next watchman would also be drawn.

175 In the pre-British days the Kurumba watchmen got their only • 439 salt and crude sugar from Badagas who made annual expeditions to the plains for such needs. These had largely ceased by 1825.

BADAGAS AND IRULAS

177 The only Badagas having any regular contact with Irulas are those near Ha:sanu:ru and those living in the eastern sector of the Nilgiris. In this latter area Badagas probably—and erroneously —treat the Irulas as a section of the Kurumba tribe, and hence their interrelationship approximates that between Badagas and Kurumbas elsewhere on the plateau.

178 One of the highest mountains (1788 m.) in that particular area is (133) Rangasa:mi Peak (Metz, 1864, 65–66; Nicholson, 1898, 426–427; Noble, 1976, 124), important in Nilgiri culture because it is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine (actually two megalithic circles of

2: Hockings 3-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Pandalu:ru village. This system thus parallels that of the Nilgiri Badagas but does not link up with theirs: cases cannot, for example, be referred to the paramount chief of the Badagas in Tu:ne:ri, and he does not invite Wainad Gaudas to his councils. The head of the all-Wainad council is someone noted for his justice, called the Great Headman (*doḍḍa gauda*); he is selected from any of the communes. Each commune is headed by a man termed the *jammaka:ra*, under whom there are two or three lesser headmen (*kudiare*). Both of these offices are inherited fraternally; i.e., they pass from brother to brother in order of seniority, then on to the eldest brother's eldest son, and so on. Each *kudiare* is responsible for the descendants from one particular Nilgiri division: in Kolepaḷḷi, for example, there are two such headmen because its population is descended from Todana:ḍu and Me:kuna:ḍu villagers. As in the hills, a legal dispute passes up this hierarchy from the *kudiare* to the Great Headman if necessary.

These Gaudas have maintained some marriage connexions with Nilgiri Gaudas, even with families of the gentry. Several communes still intermarry with the Nilgiri Badagas of So:lu:ru; but more generally all of the communes marry endogamously or exogamously within the Wainad community. Their constituent hamlets, being single lineages, are always exogamous.[26]

There is a nineteenth-century account of trading parties of Wainad Gaudas regularly visiting the Me:kuna:ḍu village of Ke:ti (and presumably elsewhere on the plateau), bringing with them buffaloes and gold dust 'for sale' (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41).

These Gaudas had no connection with the Todas who, until the 1920s, lived on the edge of the Wainad, but some do maintain an exchange relationship with the Kotas there and also with certain Irulas and Kurumbas. The Kota partner from Gudalu:ru provides pottery as well as a pole used in Gauda funerals, to which he should also bring Kota musicians. He helps, too, with house building (Ranga, 1934, 26). In return he gets an occasional buffalo. Irulas and Kurumbas may also provide music for the funerals. Like the Panias they are valued as basket-makers but have no reputation for sorcery here as they do elsewhere. The Kurumba watchman institution is not encountered in the Wainad.

Gauda landowners have a special relationship with the Pania tribe, some of whom were their praedial slaves.[27] As if to justify this situation some Wainad natives claim the Panias originated as African slaves who escaped from two British ships in Calicut

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 (Kozhikode) during the reign of Tippu Sultan; but it is more likely
648 they were local tribals or slaves (*paṇiya*) who had escaped across the border from Coorg.[28] These labourers, whose services may be bought along with the land (Thurston, 1909, vol. VI, 58), and whose position there is inherited patrilineally, work without wages in return for regular meals, housing and clothes. Some of the more
(657) progressive farmers give them a little pocket-money, too, and normally pay their marriage expenses. In 1976 the Government made a serious effort to release all such people from bondage.

TRADITIONAL INTERCHANGE: A SUMMARY

177 Each of the four main groups—Badagas, Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas—was linked with each of the others through patrilineally descending partnerships. The men involved in these supplied each other with goods and services supplementing their own economic production and also symbolizing their social interrelationship through ritualized interaction.

177 Only the Badagas produced a real surplus of grain; Kotas and
439 Kurumbas grew hardly enough crops for their own needs and
648 Todas never grew anything. Thus the Badagas alone were in a position to pass out grain to Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas at harvest-time. They were also to some extent the suppliers of cloth, sugar and salt for these three tribes. While Badagas thus played a major part in the economy of the Nilgiri tribes their role in the rituals of these groups was minimal, probably because the form of the rituals antedated the arrival of the Badagas.

Todas specialized in dairy produce: milk and clarified butter. These they provided on occasion for Badagas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Todas were also able to supply Kotas and Badagas with various cane products: beds, flutes and certain baskets.

The Kotas possessed some buffaloes and cultivated grain, too. But they also made various artifacts for the Badagas who gave them cattle carcasses and grain and for the Todas who gave them clarified butter. The Kotas were the specialists in leather-work, carpentry, pottery, metal-working, thatching and ceremonial music. Their participation in Toda and Badaga funerals was essential.

177 By comparison with the Kotas, the Toda and Kurumba
648 tribesmen maintained relatively simple relationships with the

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Badagas. Most Kurumbas were kept distant from the other hill peoples because of their residence pattern and their reputation for infallible sorcery. The commune Kurumbas, or watchmen, were appointed by a Kota or Badaga commune to protect its members from Kurumba sorcery. The loyal watchman was rewarded with a dole of grain at harvest, with new cloth whenever he needed it, with meals when he was with the Badagas and in fact with anything else that he might wheedle out of his employers by supernatural threats or promises.

NOTES

1. Only four of the sixteen Toda clans keep up the relationship, and it has been totally abandoned by Christian Todas and Christian Badagas; compare Emeneau, 1939, 101. I am indebted to T. Mutiken, a Toda, for his patient criticism of these pages on Toda/Badaga relations.
2. '... were it not for the hold which the Todas have upon them by the pretended use of witchcraft, they would doubtless refuse payment of their accustomed tribute'; Metz, 1864, 21; compare Marshall, 1873, 145; Grigg, 1880, 328.
3. Ouchterlony, 1848, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 59-60; Breeks, 1873, 12-13; Ward 1821, lxxiii, stated it was paid to Todas because they were 'the hereditary claimants of the soil'. We should note that throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the government allowed the Todas Rs 150 annually, as 'goodoo' or compensation for former Toda lands now used by Europeans in Ootacamund Municipality; Grigg, 1880, 302, 329-331, 333-341; Price, 1908, 227-228. Similar compensation was paid for Toda and Badaga lands in Coonoor Municipality; Francis, 1908, 343.
4. Harkness (1832, 135-136) gives a general figure of 2.25 litres—probably what each household gave the Todas.
5. Ouchterlony, 1848, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 59; Kotas claim it should be one winnowful (four litres) per household; Emeneau, 1946, 257.
6. Compare Shortt and Ouchterlony, 1868, 59: 'Sometimes the offerings ... are not considered sufficient, and sometimes they refuse to give anything at all, when confusion ensues; the Todars ... entering their houses and laying them under contribution by force.'
7. Grigg, 1880, 195; Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144; compare Metz, 1864, 41; '... they stand in fear of the supposed power of the Pálaul to kill their cattle by sorcery.'
8. Toda men and women wear the *pu:txuly*—a large cloak intricately embroidered by the women—over a loincloth.
9. On occasions when the Todas did not join Badagas and Kotas in this venture.
10. Rivers, 1906, 634. Toda songs often refer to buffaloes obtained from Badagas for funeral sacrifice; e.g., Emeneau, 1971, 6, 79, 307, 448.
11. Basel Mission, 1905, 305, records the case of a Badaga Christian teacher who had relations in 1903 with a Toda girl and later with his own mare. Emeneau, 1971, 613, cites the case of a Toda woman 'raped by a Badaga'. Another

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177 report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

000 12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

177 13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

177 614 14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

565 622 15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

000 16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *palol*!

● 439 778 17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

000 18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *palol's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

186 20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far ab the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

000 21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

177 621 23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

795 25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

595 583 26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

586 27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

648 657 28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *panya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

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having their head-quarters in the towns, who were responsible for the patrolling of the main routes, the suppression of organized crime, and the realization of the land revenue. So long as it was paid, and so long as there was no disturbance of the peace endangering the general security or outbreaks of crime preventing the safe passage of travellers and merchandise, the villages were left to manage their own affairs, with headmen and councils of elders to try their petty cases and village watchmen to prevent petty crime.

A detailed account of the economy up to the year 1830 (when a large part of the plateau was transferred from Coimbatore to the Malabar administration) can be reconstructed from several reports, mainly British.[6] These provide us with a list of Badaga produce which can be amended slightly by modern informants.

The main items[7] cultivated by Badagas in the early nineteenth century were wheat, barley, panic-seed, the Italian, finger and slender millets, poppy, prince's feather, mustard seed, black gram, field peas, chick pea or Bengal gram, pepper, rose-mallow seeds; garlic, onion, fenugreek, country bean, pumpkin and gourd.

The main animal products in this period were cow and buffalo milk, clarified butter (made more by Todas than by Badagas), hides (prepared by Kotas from Badaga animals), bullocks used in ploughing and threshing, and a few large poultry. No sheep were kept, though Finicio and Birch had noticed goats in the hills (Finicio, 1603, 723; Keys, 1812, li; Birch, 1836, 103).

Materials gathered from the jungle included kitchen fuel, honey, bees-wax, hay, wild flax, gentian, sandalwood, rattan cane and black dammer or resin.

The items usually imported and exported by Badagas are also known from these same sources. The imports were coarse cloth, salt, tobacco, iron bars for the Kota blacksmith (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), coarse sugar made from a palm sap, trinkets and coinage.

Exports included wheat, barley, some superior millets, bales of millet and barley hay and wild flax (all used for fodder), poppy capsules and opium, honey, bees-wax, garlic, onion, mustard seed, pepper, fenugreek, gentian, rose-mallow seed, clarified butter, sandalwood, hides, cane—and coinage paid in land taxes to an official at Dannaika Ko:ţe.

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Because of their wetter climate the Badagas have always been able to subsist while famine ravaged the South Indian plains (Grigg, 1880, 34). Even so, Badagas were undoubtedly affected by the occasional lowland famines and by fluctuations in the grain prices, since they sold their grain surplus in the nearby lowland markets. We need hardly point out that they would have made unusually good profits from sales in the famine years, but they might also have been taxed more heavily in those years.

MARKETING AFTER 1825

Around the year 1825 the British settlers, through their officials in Ootacamund, began to encourage traders from the plains to develop a market in that town and provided government-owned land for the purpose (Price, 1908, 233). By the end of 1827,

> ...advances had been made to [immigrant] natives to open bazaars...in the place so that 'the market is now well and regularly supplied with every essential article'...a public establishment of palanquin-bearers was kept up; and...villages were beginning to spring up at the foot of the passes (Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 115; compare Grigg, 1880, 288).

The traders in those early days were Chettis from Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya, Ka:ramuḍu and other nearby lowland villages.[19] The market in Ootacamund was held only on Monday and Tuesday of each week; every Thursday the same traders held a market in Sirumuge, and on Friday were in Ka:ramuḍu. In these places they would collect the produce from the surrounding Chetti-controlled villages, then on Friday night they would start out by bullock-cart up the long Coonoor pass to the plateau. Their merchandise included rice, salt, crude sugar, coconut and other foodstuffs[20] As the climb was entirely uphill the bullocks rested all day Saturday and Sunday on the slopes and travelled throughout the nights. Later on in the century wealthy Chettis built some free rest-houses by the roadside for these journeys. The carts regularly reached Ootacamund on Sunday evening after a forty-eight hour haul. After two days of trading the Chettis left with their loaded carts around four each Tuesday afternoon. By Friday morning they were back in Ka:ramuḍu to repeat the weekly cycle and to barter

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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their Nilgiri acquisitions for further produce to take up to the hills.

According to modern Badaga informants their forebears did not use cash at the Ootacamund market during the first two decades of its existence. They exchanged the products of their own lands for the foodstuffs brought up by Chettis. In this way the Nilgiri Plateau was exporting a variety of goods to Ka:ramuḍu and its environs, especially clarified butter, onions, honey, coriander, opium and millet hay.

The initial period of barter in the bazaar passed as the town acquired a few regular shops. Later in the nineteenth century coinage came into use in the market, now open every day, and a government superintendent fixed the day's prices (Ouchterlony, 1848, 72; Price, 1908, 187). One could even borrow money there at 2 or 3% per month interest (depending on the security). Monday and Tuesday in Ootacamund, Thursday in Sirumuge, Friday in Ka:ramuḍu and Saturday in Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya are however still called 'shandy days',[21] and it is still customary for Badagas to visit the Nilgiri towns on Monday, their weekly holiday, and to send truckloads of farm produce to Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya or to Ka:ramuḍu each Friday. The transition to exclusive use of coinage in the market took a very long time, for as recently as 1924 Gaymard was able to remark that when they made their weekly trips to town some Badagas did not carry a purse but instead a basket or sackful of grain which they would exchange there for salt, pimentos, utensils and cloth (Gaymard, 1924, 2-3).

ITINERANT TRADERS ON THE PLATEAU

Both before and after these town bazaars were established the Badagas maintained another kind of link with the lowland economy. Chettis from villages lying directly east of the Nilgiris used to (and still do) come up onto the plateau once a month on foot for petty trading. Badagas call them Regional Chettis (*ṇa:ḍu cetti*), in reference perhaps to the restricted range of each man's trading itinerary. Although living in a Tamil-speaking area their native tongue is Kannada. Their settlements in and near the towns of Sirumuge, Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya and Ka:ramuḍu are concerned with petty trade, weaving and agriculture. The Chetti and his family weave cloth in their home for the Badagas; and until the advent of the Ootacamund bazaar they were the regular source for cloth

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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among the entire Nilgiri population.

Chetti merchandise consists of cloth, lamp-wicks and various trinkets, which are exchanged for grain or cash when available. Since the early nineteenth century these traders have also made and bartered iron measures of volume, artifacts that had previously been made out of bamboo by the Todas.[22] The Nilgiri system of measures differed significantly from that of southern Mysore, presumably because these Chettis and the officers at Dannaika Ko:te imposed the standards of Coimbatore markets on the Badagas.

Each Badaga village has a traditional barter relationship with a particular Chetti man, inherited on either side by a son from his father; and despite the vast economic changes since the inception of this system some centuries ago the relationship continues today, modified only by a very considerable drop in the number of clients and volume of trade. During the ten days of his visit the Chetti works through two or three villages a day, restricting himself to the two dozen or more villages of his recognized territory, and then returns to his home in the plains. After twenty days of work there he returns to the plateau and repeats this circuit. Contiguous territories are covered by different Chettis often from the same village, so that one can send a message to his own Regional Chetti by contacting another one on tour in the hills. Although a Chetti may sometimes bring his wife with him all dealings occur between him and the Badaga men. If the Chetti's wife accompanies him it is only to strengthen the bonds of friendship with his Badaga trade associates, by making conversation with the Badaga womenfolk. During nights on the plateau the Chetti sleeps in the outer room of a Badaga friend. He is allowed to eat in that room as well but is expected to wash his own plate, an act indicative of his lower status.

The relationship between Badagas and Chettis is very different in character from that linking Badagas with Todas or Kotas. Until well into the twentieth century the latter linkages were crucial for the flow of necessary goods to members of the three communities; whereas trade with Chettis was never anything more than a convenience which in earlier times saved Badagas from extra journeys to the plains and more recently to the nearest bazaar. The Chetti is considered a foreigner as he is from the plains. Normally his Badaga friends need not visit his village: there is no ceremonial gift-exchange between the two and little participation in each

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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lxv; De La Tour, 1822, 261; Baber, 1830, 315; Harkness, 1832, 136–137; Birch, 1838, 103; 'Stocqueler,' 1845, 579; Price, 1908, 8; Sarada Raju, 1941, 107–108. On the partition of the district, see Grigg, 1880, 290–291, 303, and Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 117. See also Hockings, 1973.

7. Botanical identifications for the species referred to in this study, here arranged alphabetically, are as follows: almonds (*Terminalia catappa*), barley (*Hordeum hexastichon*), betel or areca nut (*Areca catechu*), black dammer or resin (from *Canarium strictum*), black gram (*Phaseolus mungo*), chick pea or Bengal gram (*Cicer arietinum*), coconut (*Cocos nucifera*), coffee (*Coffea arabica*), common millet (*Panicum miliaceum*), coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*), country bean (*Dolichos lablab*) fenugreek (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*), field peas (*Pisum arvense*), finger millet (*Eleusine coracana*), flax (*Linum mysorense*), garlic (*Allium sativum*), gentian (*Gentiana pedicellata*), gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), great millet (*Andropogon sorghum*), Italian millet (*Setaria italica*), Italian rye (*Lolium italicum*), lime (*Citrus aurantifolia*), mustard (*Brassica juncea*), oats (*Avena sativa*), onion (*Allium cepa*), panic-seed (*Setaria pallidifusca*), pepper (*Piper schmidtii*), poppy (*Papaver somniferum*), potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), prince's feather (*Amarantus paniculatus*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), rattan cane (*Calamus spp.*), rose-mallow (*Hibiscus esculentus*), sandalwood (*Santalum album*), slender millet (*Panicum miliare*), tea (*Camellia sinensis*), tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), turmeric (*Curcuma longa*), and wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*).

8. Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 115. This area is now the playing field between the Lawley Institute and the Botanical Gardens.

9. Baikie, 1857, 25. In the mid-nineteenth century the Sundepatti and Manna:ru Passes provided a safe short-cut for smugglers between Coimbatore and Malabar; Ouchterlony, 1848, 75; Grigg, 1880, 19, 291.

10. Nicholson, 1898, 352. Note that the deity is a Vaishnavite one; its chariot-dragging festival is still held. See above, p. 145.

11. After crossing the Bhavani River in a rattan coracle covered with skins; Mackworth, 1823, 118–119; Grigg, 1880, 295. Once a market was opened in Ootacamund Ka:ramudu ceased to have much importance for Badagas; Francis, 1908, 340.

12. *dodda habba;* on the salt ceremony, see Hockings, 1968c, *passim.*

13. This fourteenth-century fortress, now submerged by the Bhavani Dam, controlled the important Gajalatti Pass which links southern Mysore with the Coimbatore Plain; Nicholson, 1898, 425–427.

14. Ward erroneously calls the sum a dowry.

15. Later in quarter and one rupee denominations.

16. In the amounts of Rs. ¼, ½, 1, 3, 6, 12, 24 and 48; but see below, p. 172.

17. Also the case in some other districts of Madras Presidency; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247; Grigg, 1880, 286, n. 1.

18. The years 1803–1805 were a period of drought in the Nilgiris; Grigg, 1880, 279, n. 2.

19. There were as yet no Moslem traders.

20. Cloth was not among the trade items. The Coonoor Pass was completed in 1833; Grigg, 1880, 17.

21. Shandy means 'market', from the Tamil *santai.*

22. Foodstuffs were usually traded by volume rather than weight, for scales were never used in or near the Nilgiris.

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241 coriander, chick pea (or Bengal gram), garlic, onion, fenugreek, as well as poultry and eggs. Though officially suppressed in 1854 and 433 again by the Opium Act of 1878, opium continued to be produced (Ouchterlony, 1848, 27–28; Baikie, 1857, 92; Metz, 1864, 153; 'Geofry', 1881, 132; Benson, 1895, 432–433; Prince, 1908, 224).

177 Foodstuffs introduced by Europeans but now being grown by 241 Badagas included:

Grains	*Root-crops*	*Vegetables*	*Fruits*	*Stimulants*
Barley	Beetroot	Artichoke	Apple	Coffee
(new variety)	Carrot	Asparagus	Blackberry	Tea
Fiorin grass	Mangel-wurzel	Cabbage	Capers	Tobacco*
Italian rye	Parsnip	Cauliflower	Citron	
Lucern	Potato	Celery	Gooseberry	
(for fodder)	Radish	French beans	Lemon	
Oats	Turnip	Kidney beans	Loquat	
Wheat		Leek	Nectarine	
(new variety)		Lettuce	Orange	
		Peas	Peach	
		Savoy cabbage	Pear	
		Sea kale	Plum	
		Spinach	Raspberry	
			Strawberry	
			Tomato	

*Reputedly a Toda import (Baikie, 1857, 95).

●439 Trade items being imported to the Nilgiris in the late nineteenth century included four products also imported in pre-British times—sugar, salt, cotton cloth and tobacco. In addition various other Indian goods began to be imported only during the latter half of the century: almond, betel or areca, cattle, clarified butter, coconut, coriander and other spices, dried fruits, finger millet, furniture, gunpowder, Italian millet, lime, limes, oils, peas, poultry, salted fish, scrap metal, sheep, sulphur, toddy, tools, turmeric, wheat.

European articles imported to the Nilgiris in the later nineteenth century included wines, spirits, beer, clothing, candles, groceries, pottery, glass, hardware, shoes, books and stationery. It is unclear how much of these were destined for consumption by the European settlers.

Among the exports from the plateau at this time were some that had also been exported in pre-British days, namely opium, wheat

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439 and bees-wax. Other exports of the later nineteenth century were coffee, tea, potato, barley, resin, silk and hides.

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE OVER THE PAST CENTURY

656 657 Until 1863 the Badagas not only cultivated fields close to the villages but also practised shifting agriculture in the wooded areas. At that time the government abolished, at least formally, the [241] [311] system of swidden cultivation and thereby posed a serious threat to those Badaga farmers who had depended on it (for full details, see Grigg, 1880, 314-327). According to government experts swidden farming was wasteful of timber resources and led to soil erosion. More significantly, though, there was also an eagerness among British settlers to cover vast tracts of the Nilgiris with tea and (651) coffee plantations. In 1863 the British abolished the revenue system current in the Kundena:du area,[7] which had involved issuing a licence for each hoe and each plough without otherwise taxing or delimiting the land a man could cultivate or recording what acreage he was entitled to use. Until these restrictions came into effect many Badaga farmers made periodic use of lands five to ten times as extensive as their revenue assessments justified.[8] By about 1880 these restrictions, legislated during 1862-1864, had become realities in all parts of the Nilgiris.

M 423 651 [656] The rapidly increasing Badaga population was now faced with a depleted acreage of usable farmland, a situation that worsened with erosion and land sales. For the first time in history their fields, once surveyed and registered in accordance with the Land Settlement rules, came to have a monetary value—especially as under the Waste Land Rules a man's land could be auctioned and thus irretrievably lost if he became too much in arrears with the payment of land revenue. A farmer therefore tried to hold on to as much registered land as he could.[9]

M 423 [241] [311] [433] The British land legislation did not cause an immediate shortage of land among the Badagas. On the contrary, Grigg notes (1880, 480) that in the 1870s land was so 'cheap' that the Badagas who did own some or bought more tried to cultivate areas that were too large for their resources, with the result that their labour and capital were spread too thinly across the land to produce adequate returns. The slim yield of soil not properly fertilized and skimpy cultivation of too large an area impelled the poorer farmers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to sell land to British

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increasingly valuable to the Badagas because of rising grain prices (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

For many Badagas with small land-holdings the transitional period between the two World Wars was marked by the frustrations of indebtedness. Pieces of their land were sometimes sold to non-Badagas in order to pay off outstanding debts—a previously inconceivable practice. Some men went as far as the Annamalai Hills for manual labouring. Badaga debtors did, however, work hard to produce profitable cash crops or at least to buy back some of their former lands (Thurston, 1909, vol. 1, 64; Ranga, 1934, 4; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249).

With the First World War, major changes in their marketing practices became apparent. Tea, coffee and cinchona, like potato, presuppose a market beyond the Nilgiris, which in turn presupposes adequate transportation. The crucial demand for vegetables to feed the numerous European troops in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon stimulated the change in crops documented above (see Table 2). Similar conditions arose again in the Second World War and prompted many more Badagas to try commercial farming. On each occasion cultivators took the risk of exporting potatoes and other vegetables to new and remote markets, and some made handsome profits (Francis, 1908, 167). The risks in this enterprise were real, for men could recall occasions when floods broke the road or rail connections or the goods reached their destination only after market prices had fallen heavily. The rewards of potato cultivation were, however, of critical importance in lifting the yoke of indebtedness: during World War II the British made a great deal of capital available to Badaga farmers, as part of the 'Grow More Food' campaign. This finance and the profits from selling their highly priced potatoes did more than any cooperative loan facility to relieve the indebtedness that Badagas had been suffering under for several decades.

While tea and coffee yield a higher profit per hectare than potatoes or grains, they are more susceptible to disease than the millets and require greater agricultural skill than all other Nilgiri crops if they are to attain the standards required by wholesale purchasing agents. Moreover they need to be produced in large enough quantity to warrant the processing and transportation to Bombay (since 1940, to Cochin). Middlemen, both Badagas and others, were therefore indispensable to the few Badaga tea and coffee growers of the 1920s and 1930s. Middlemen could act as a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Neḍugula, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AWSO Badaga AWSO

salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions.[6] We may perhaps infer that the salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, *ca.* 1825, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills.[6]

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *'ka:ruppu,* is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him.

Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. This coarse salt is then powdered in a mortar inside the house with a special iron bar supplied by the Kota craftsmen.

At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?" Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket[7] and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the headman, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present.

This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage. (Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.) After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *'hubbe* plant.[8]

The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his

121 the stream, the cattle shed, and the hearth. Furthermore, the participants in
796 this ceremony do all they can to insure that they are in a state of purity,
and that they do nothing to cause a mishap during this particular day.

783 Let us now examine these points in more detail. The requirements of
ritual purity and bodily cleanliness are a *sine qua non* for the performance
of any ceremony. If a man does not approach the gods with the knowledge
that he has done all that he can to be in a pure state, he has little hope that
175 his prayers will be answered. In pre-British days, when the salt had to be
437 purchased in the plains below, it received special treatment from the mo-
ment of purchase onward to insure that it would not become polluted
• 439 before the ceremony. The men who were to carry the salt up the mountain
783 slopes were not to carry anything else; contact with ordinary foodstuffs
would pollute this particular salt. The annual trading expeditions were
normally timed so as to fall a few weeks before the salt-giving ceremony.
Nowadays a Badaga simply buys his own salt in the town market and
brings it home without special ritual precautions.

231 High in the roof of each cattle shed are shelves on which various dairy
778 articles are stored. The man who brings the salt home is supposed to take it
783 straight to the cattle shed and place it on one of these shelves; he must not
bring it directly into his house, even though he will later have to do so
when the ceremony is about to begin. It is felt that the salt would become
polluted in the house if it were brought into an unpurified room where
sexual activity has occurred. The cattle shed, though not considered a temple
like the Toda dairy, is a pure and sacred place because milk is stored
783 there. When the salt is finally brought into each purified house for powder-
ing, it is whisked around the mortar with the help of a freshly cut twig
796 of wild *'hubbe* (also used for loosening any salt that remains on the bottom
of the basket). The Badagas have two kinds of broom, one for indoor use
(824) and one for outside; but both are considered impure because of what they
have come in contact with, and so cannot be used for sweeping the salt
412 around while it is being powdered. The used part of the *'hubbe* branch is
(783) thrown away after this, and the unused remainder is placed on top of the
salt. From the time of purchase onward, this salt is always carried in a
special basket kept only for this purpose.

783 It is not only the salt that must be kept in a ritually pure state; the
man selected to perform the ceremony on behalf of each household is also
under certain restrictions. From the day of the new moon until after the
salt has been given to the cattle this man must not shave, have sexual re-
lations, cut his finger or toe nails, or stay overnight anywhere other than
in his own home. By observing all these prohibitions he is believed to build
(765) up a state of personal purity. (Were a man to cut his hair and shave, it
would suggest he had recently attended a funeral and was still in the
inauspicious state of mourning for a deceased relative.) The culmination
of this spiritual preparation comes on the night preceding the ceremony,
when he must sleep alone on a sack on the earthen floor, wearing cotton
and without any other bedding.

(356) Early the following morning the house has to be purified too. After the

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

178 But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

121 Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

101 121 1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

242 428 2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

121 161 4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

231 196 5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

115 6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

(437) (648) 7. Called *'uppu kuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

(436) (437) 8. The term *'hubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

285 648 9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

137 824

175 (Grigg 1880: 228, 268-69). Whatever the details of their migration may be, it is
(167) known that no further Badagas arrived from Mysore after the first English report mentioning the Nilgiri peoples (Buchanan 1807: 246-47). They have been consolidated as a community for at least two centuries (Anonymous 1819: liv-lv; Mac-
178 pherson 1820: lix; Ward 1821: lxx-lxxi). Furthermore the system of socio-cultural interdependence which linked the Badagas with the other tribal groups there at the beginning of the 20th Century did not differ greatly from the situation as it was sketchily recorded in 1603 (Fenicio 1603: 723). In general therefore we
101 199 can say that the Badagas were Kanarese-speaking agriculturists who settled in the Nilgiris from perhaps six until two centuries ago, and who were there consolidated into a tribe-like community interacting with the other local tribes.

433 Records indicate that until about 1860 or 1870 the Badagas were slash-and-burn cultivators as well as settled farmers (cf. Grigg 1880: 315-17, 321; Francis 1908: 4; Thurston 1909: I, 78-79). Those who ate meat were also in the habit of hunting, until some 30 years ago. After 1860 the British administration
241 (657) wanted the peasants to remain on the same tracts of farmland; whereupon they gradually took to cultivating European vegetables, particularly the potato, which they sold for cash in the town markets (Metz 1864: 153-54). Since 1957 a series
241 • 439 of crop failures caused by a potato disease has prompted the Badagas to turn more and more to the cultivation of tea and coffee, products which are also sold locally for cash. In the past the food needs of these villagers have been satisfied by the cultivation of millets; but since about 1920 it has been more common for them to purchase rice as a staple, using money brought in by the potato, tea or coffee sales (Ranga 1934: 68).

262 000 Dairy produce is an essential part of the Badaga diet. Nearly every

648 at harvest-time. They were also to some extent the suppliers of cloth and salt
●[439] for these three tribes. While the Badagas therefore played a major part in the economy of the other tribes, their role in the rituals of these groups was minimal.

439 Todas specialized in dairy produce: milk and ghee. These they provided
648 on occasion for Badagas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Todas were also able to supply various cane products to the Kotas and Badagas -- beds, flutes and certain kinds of baskets (Rivers 1906: 630-31; Emeneau 1938: 103).

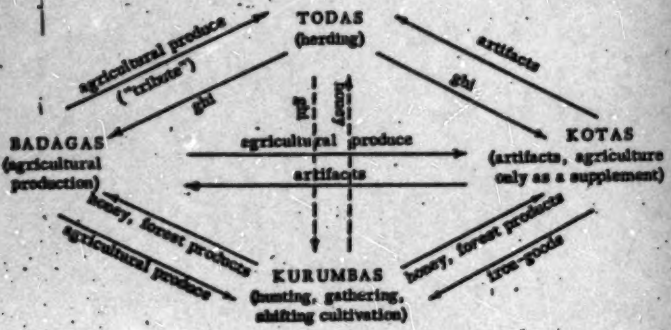
The Kotas possessed some buffaloes of their own and grew some grain too. But they made various types of artifact for the Badagas who gave them grain, and for the Todas who gave them ghee. The Kotas were the specialists in leather-work (especially rope-making) (Metz 1864: 122), carpentry, pottery, thatching, and ceremonial music (Harkness 1832: 78-79). Kotas traditionally provided the music at Toda and Badaga funerals, as well as at Badaga weddings and other festivities. Their participation in this role was an essential part of the ceremony (Ward 1821: lxxvii).

648 By comparison with the Kotas, the Toda and Kurumba tribesmen maintained relatively simple relationships with the Badagas. Most Kurumbas, indeed, were kept distant from the other inhabitants, because of their reputation for infallible sorcery (Harkness 1832: 84-85; Thurston 1912: 232-33). Only a few hundred Kurumbas (called Village Kurumbas or Watchmen) were esteemed by the Badagas and Kotas. These were Kurumbas appointed by an entire Badaga or Kota village to protect its members from the sorcery of other Kurumbas. The loyal Village Kurumba was rewarded for his duties with a dole of grain at harvest-time, with new cloth whenever he needed it, and in fact with anything else that he might wheedle out of his employers by supernatural threats or promises (Metz 1864: 116).

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

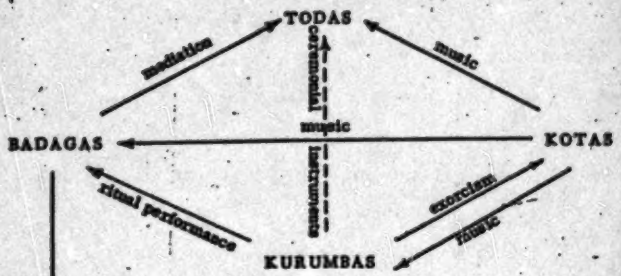
DIAGRAM I: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS AMONG THE NILGIRI TRIBES

439
648



ECONOMIC RELATIONS

(Translated from Zvelebil 1955: 243)



SOCIAL RELATIONS

(Translated from Zvelebil 1955: 244)

241 has greatly improved, it is worth noting, because the state government has made loans available on relatively easy terms for the purpose of having field terraces constructed.

Because of terracing in many places, and widespread subdivision, fields are often so small that it would be markedly inefficient to plow them at any time (478) (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). For the past 25 years, therefore, the plow and oxen have ceased to be used in the Nilgiri Hills. Much of the (465) work-load formerly carried by oxen is now taken by the spades of cheap migrant laborers from the plains: men work for daily wages of Rs. 1.75, equivalent to about 35¢ U.S., and women for about 30¢.

While the profits from potato, tea and coffee are very much higher per 426 acre than those from the traditional grain crops, the risks are also much higher. 474 Not only does a farmer need ready cash to buy seed or cuttings, fertilizer and labor, but he may need cash to feed his family if disease ruins the crop for one (657) season. Here the cooperative societies set up by the state government have helped the Badagas greatly. Both short- and long-term loans are available, against land or house securities, for all members of the societies (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The societies have thus gone far in protecting Badagas from the high interest-rates of private money-lenders; some societies even help farmers by supplying seeds, fertilizers, and modern implements at cost prices.

Marketing

Traditionally the Badagas, Kotas and Todas occupied a very peripheral 115 position in a market economy: before the British reached the Nilgiris annual trading 437 expeditions to the market at Gundlupet, in Mysore, or to Kiramadai, were the (439) source for the few requirements not otherwise available in the Hills. Such

requirements were mainly salt, sugar, tobacco and a few trinkets. Cloth might either be obtained at the market or would be brought up into the Nilgiri villages from the Coimbatore Plain by an itinerant Chetti trader (Ward 1821: lxv). The establishment of a bazaar in Ootacamund during the 1820's, and later of others in Coonoor, Wellington, Kotagiri, Ketti and Manjūr, made consumer goods available to the Badagas on a scale and in a variety never before known to them. The desire to acquire some of these new items was presumably one factor in the drive towards greater participation in the cash economy.

Yet the transition took a century to complete. All of the basic requirements for food, goods and services continued to be provided either by the efforts of the Badagas themselves or by their Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. From the 1820's onwards the Badagas attended the local markets for what they had previously bought in Gundlupet or Kāramaḍai -- salt, sugar, tobacco and trinkets -- but they never sold very much in the markets, and so they rarely had much cash to spend. With the First World War, however, changes in their marketing practices became more apparent. The crucial demand for vegetables to feed the many European troops in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon stimulated the change in crops that we have described above (pp. 94-99): Badagas began exporting potatoes and other vegetables to these remote places, and some made handsome profits (Francis 1908: 167).

The cash that came in from this new venture was spent in a great variety of ways. The most obvious was in buying new clothes: in the 1920's men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930's women first started to wear colored saris. A few of the more resourceful men invested their incomes in more land or houses, thus laying a stable foundation for future genera-

454 tions.

The period between the two World Wars saw the rise not only of wealthy 178 Badaga land-owners, but also of labor contractors. A few men profited by getting (556) contracts to build roads or construct public buildings in the District. Two patterns (454) of reinvestment were common among such men: one was in land (Ranga 1934: 10), even in tea and coffee estates; the other was in college education for their sons. Less wealthy Badagas during the same period set themselves up as small shop-keepers or money-lenders, or, hired themselves out as builders, carpenters, water-carriers and even coolies (Francis 1908: 129; Ranga 1934: 8).

For many Badagas with small land-holdings, this period of transition was 426 marked by the frustrations of indebtedness. Pieces of land were sometimes sold (178) to non-Badagas in order to pay off outstanding debts; but in general Badaga debtors tried to honor their obligations, and worked hard either to produce profitable cash crops or to buy back their former lands (Thurston 1909: I, 64; Ranga 1934: 4; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

We may say that the take-off for economic growth within the cash economy 178 was complete by 1930, when most of the Badagas had permanently severed their 648 traditional exchange-relationship with the Kotas. This, from the Badaga point of (439) view, was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas were getting. This is not to say that Kotas had been receiving cash; but the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming increasingly costly to the Badagas because of rising grain prices. We shall discuss this point further when we come to consider recent factions (see Chapters VII and VIII).

178 While tea and coffee yield the highest profit per acre, they require

234 361 (342) wall, and a bough barricade. The dwelling-hut has a low sleeping level, the necessary churn-pole for processing milk, and a fireplace set in a low platform. Five calf-huts surround the dwelling-hut, and there is also a separate calf-pen. All the hut walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other, and roofs were thatched. Kinkara Hundi, also used in 1963 and located close to Bhavani Hundi, is situated next to a stream and extensive shola (Figure 12). Post, branch, and log fences enclose a large circular cattle-pen, a smaller cattle-pen, and a calf-pen. There are three calf-huts next to a (343) dwelling hut. The calf-huts have post walls, and the dwelling-hut has stone walls. Grass thatching was placed over all the roofs.

During the 1963 season only one group of Badaga shepherds was 234 contacted by the writer (Plate III, D). The seven men taking turns 361 in living at Kinkara Hundi were herding 92 buffaloes and 40 cattle. (221) Livestock driven westward in February were to be taken back in May. The herders came from Ithalar and Poratti, where they left wives and other relatives during the dry season preceding the main agricultural 234 season. Milk was daily supplied by the Badagas to tea shops near the •439 upper Bhavani dam site, where all activities ceased during the westerly monsoon. Clarified butter was sold in the Ootacamund shandy. (484) The daily walk to the tea shops was about six miles one way, while on periodic walks to Ootacamund by a different herder each time a distance exceeding 20 miles was covered. Grains and other edibles were 262 obtained from homes, stalls near the dam site, and the Ootacamund (439) shandy. Milk and milk products, excluding clarified butter, also 234 formed a part of their diet. Livestock were being milked only in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 691

618 Thoraiyas to virtually remain serfs, despite outside job opportunities. Female and male Thoraiyas continue to work on Badaga landholdings and serve in Badaga homes. Thoraiya males trained, for example, to be barbers, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, or washermen, have further served the Badagas. For their services, Thoraiyas are paid in cash and in kind. At periodic intervals and upon special occasions, such as Thoraiya weddings, presents are imparted by Badaga masters.

175 241 Plants exploited by the Badagas. A representative list of plants grown by the Badagas in the early 1800s is obtained from the writings of Keys and Harkness (Table III). Millet species were apparently the main subsistence cereals, but it is worth noting that barley and wheat were also raised. Plants grown commercially at that time were fenugreek (Trigonella foenum-graecum L.), garlic, mustard, and poppies (Harkness 1832: 138). Poppy juice, the source of salable opium, was extracted by women and children. Iron nails were used to scratch poppy capsules in the evenings, and gummy exudations were collected on following mornings. Capsules thus scratched every four days eventually died. Opium slowly obtained in this fashion was eaten and not smoked. Seeds collected from dead capsules were sold after sun-drying, and by boiling remaining capsule shells in water a stupefying beverage was obtained (Francis 1908: 290-291; Metz 1864: 153; Ward 1821: lxiii). According to Metz (1864: 153), fenugreek was sold to low country merchants; men from Coimbatore bought large quantities of garlic and onions, which were carried down to the plains on bullocks; and mustard seed sale alone was said by the Badagas

175 249

175 276

•439 (651)

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

439 (651) to pay the government tax (presumably land revenue). Badagas slowly adopted "English" vegetables, the term commonly applied to vegetables introduced by the English (Table III). By 1865 the Badagas were growing potatoes, which were to become their main commercial crop (Markham 1862: 367; Metz 1864: 153-154).

241 911 Major changes in crop emphasis from the late 1800s to the present are best revealed by statistics resulting mainly from Badaga cultivation. In 1875 there were 15,728 acres of Italian millet, 4,662 acres of little millet, 3,761 acres of barley, 3,430 acres of finger millet, 3,199 acres of wheat, only 754 acres of potatoes, 355 acres of mustard, 169 acres of vegetables, 144 acres of fenugreek, 67 acres of horse gram (Dolichos biflorus L.), and 66 acres of poppies grown on the Nilgiris (Grigg et al. 1880: xii). In 1895 Italian millet was still the leading crop, but potato acreage had risen to 2,032 acres. Poppies outlawed by the 1878 Opium Act were no longer grown (Benson 1895: 432-433). Little millet had become the most cultivated cereal in 1905, and finger millet was growing in importance (Francis 1908: 164). Demands for potatoes during World War I helped to convert Badaga agriculture from a subsistence stage with some commercial crop production to a commercial farming stage. In 1914 there were about 4,000 acres with potatoes on the Nilgiris, but by 1920 potato acreage had doubled (Rao and Azariah 1953: 69). Before 1925 finger and little millets became the two important cereal crops, and remained the leading cereals from that time (Wood 1927: 210-223). Potato acreage has continually increased: by 1938 there were 12,000 acres, by 1950 almost 17,000 acres, and in 1960-61 there was a total

241 (656) (177) (311) (310)

241 (311) (433) [439] of 20,600 acres in the main season and 2,400 acres in the lesser (Rao and Azariah 1953: 69; Krishnamurthi 1953: 193; Madras Department of Agriculture 1960-61: single page). The production of the 1960-61 potato crop was approximately 61,900 tons and 7,060 tons. Most potatoes are shipped to Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and other parts of India via Mettupalaiyam city at the base of the Nilgiris (Figure 1).

175 241 439 Despite increased potato production on dry fields and the eating of imported rice by Badagas, most early 1800 cereals continue to be cultivated on dry fields. Cereals raised mainly for home consumption also enter local markets. Produce from old commercial plants, excluding poppies, is still sold locally and on the plains. These plants are grown with "English" vegetables in kitchen gardens. Apart from potatoes, other "English" vegetables (Table III)--cabbages and carrots for example--are sometimes raised as dry field crops. Fruit trees originating from nectarine, peach, and plum plants introduced before 1836 (Table III) and Chinese pears introduced in 1846 (Price 1908: 125) are grown in Badaga orchards. Mandarin oranges grown in multilayer gardens are also of some commercial importance. Badagas have taken advantage of ready markets for fruit and "English" vegetables. Since completion of the railroad to Ootacamund in 1908, European and Indian families scattered over India have purchased, through agents, baskets of fruit and "English" vegetables sent out at periodic intervals from the Nilgiris. On market days produce from Badaga landholdings is displayed and sold in the Coonoor, Kotagiri, Ootacamund, and smaller markets. A few Badagas use their kitchen gardens to grow introduced berries (Table III), and strawberries in

175 245 439 (245)

particular are sold by vendors who wait near entrances into the main stores in Coonoor, Kotagiri, and Ootacamund.

Long after the introduction of tea before 1836 (Table III) and coffee in 1838 (Athrey 1953: 11), enterprising Badagas turned to coffee and tea planting. Ranga (1934: 19-21) recorded these facts concerning their earlier tea planting: During a single week in 1928 a European planter purchased 17,000 pounds of green tea leaf from Badagas. Between 1928 and 1930 Badagas in four communities increased their tea acreages to approximately 400 acres. By 1934 a Badaga woman managed a tea nursery, and a Kotagiri tea planter was purchasing all the tea leaf he could obtain from Badagas. In the 1960 Planting Directory over 100 Badagas are listed as coffee and tea growers. Their holdings range in size from six acres of tea to a tea garden with 190 acres of tea and a factory or from 15 acres of coffee to a garden with 158 acres of arabica coffee and 59 acres of tea (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 38-81). According to the tentative definition of a plantation used in this study (Appendix A), the two largest gardens would qualify as plantations--and are the only listed Badaga holdings with such large dimensions. Tea leaf from many listed and a much larger number of smaller unlisted holdings is processed in nearby company factories, or in small factories owned by Badagas or Lingayats.

Acacia and eucalyptus trees were first grown on the Nilgiris before 1836 (Table III). Badagas have since planted many acacias and eucalypti on land in and between their communities. From these trees are obtained acacia bark for tannin, eucalyptus oil, and firewood.

244 period (Figure 15).

412 In present dry field crop production land occasionally remains unterraced, but is more often shallowly terraced. Many farmers are

241 now, by requirement of the Madras Government, hewing out slopes to

(666) form horizontal croplands on tiered terraces (Plate X, C). Dry fields frequently remain unenclosed. When land left in fallow for some time is again to be cultivated, vegetation will first be removed and burned in small piles.

In preparing ground for potatoes, men turn the soil with digging

244 forks. After about two or three weeks, clods are broken by women and

(462) children. Both blunt and forked sides of hoe-forks are used in this

(857) task. Undesirable stones and weeds are removed at the same time. Stones are utilized in terrace or wall construction, and ashes from weeds burned in piles are scattered over the land. Manure and compost brought in by women, bullock carts, or trucks are scattered over the

(435) soil. Badagas sometimes purchased buffalo-dung from the Todas. After fertilizer has been worked into the soil with hoes or hoe-forks, parallaled potato ridges are constructed with similar implements. As this is a hard task, men often assist. Men, women, and children do the planting. A small amount of chemical fertilizer is included with each seed potato. At least two weedings are carried out through use

(462) of smaller hoes, hoe-forks, and small weeding-hoes. Women and children

(857) usually perform this task, and at the same time they mound the ridges. The first mounding aids in keeping spreading roots covered, and the

(592) second helps protect the plant bases from strong monsoon winds. Most

(251) family members work during the busy harvest season. After tubers dug

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

are planted together each time, and small clumps are spaced about nine inches to one foot apart. The amount of weeding performed by women and children before or after rice is transplanted depends upon the individuals concerned, but some weeding is usually done. As rice ripens, watch-huts built on stilts amidst fields or on hill slopes nearby are occupied in shifts by men, women, or children who make noises to drive away animals and birds. Harvesting takes place mainly in January, but rice is also harvested in December and February. Grain removal is facilitated by the fields drying up before harvesters, mainly women, start working with sickles. Cut rice stalks are carried in headloads by men and women to threshing floors near the houses. Muzzled bulls are strung together and forced to walk abreast around posts rising from threshing floors. Grain on hay laid beneath the bulls' feet is thus slowly threshed out. Months later, other grain is threshed in like manner from straw piled on stilted platforms or straw heaped about poles rising near threshing floors. Sun-dried grain is stored within large grain baskets or wooden chests placed in homes. The remaining threshed straw is fed to livestock or used for thatching.

Additional income. As far back as 1881 the Badagas were working on neighboring plantations, and a fair number of males are presently employed on plantations (Jennings 1881: 60). A few Badagas obtain income by selling milk to coffee and tea shops in nearby villages.

2. The Kotas

Most Kotas at Kalac, Gudalur, live in eight houses with brick